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TO THE RADICALS.

On the late motion of Mr. Lambton, on the subject of Reform, and on the part acted by Lord Milton and others upon that occasion.—On the present situation of Corruption, and on the dangers that await her.—Also on the scheme now in agitation for the making of bread dear by means of a body of delegates, or Agricultural Convention.

Kensington, April 24, 1821.

FRIENDS,

I think the day is come, when we may begin to laugh. Be assured, that, as to the *Labouring Classes*, the worst is *past*. That which they suffered in 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819 and 1820, they cannot suffer again, until the present race of farmers, landlords, and borough-lords be completely gone; and another race, with such another system, come in their stead. Far indeed is the situation of the *Labouring Classes* from what it ought to be; far are

they from living as their forefathers lived; far are they from having meat for their dinners, and a barrel of beer in their cellars. But, still, they are coming back towards it, and come to it they will, in spite of the present combination to make food dear and thereby to perpetuate their misery. Of this combination I shall speak more fully bye-and-bye; but, I must first invite you to laugh with me at the recent exhibition made by those profound gentlemen, the "*Moderate Reformers*," with those two great law-givers, Messieurs LAMBTON and MIDDLESEX WHITBREAD at their head. This last appears to be a bright youth indeed: quite worthy of the support of the Westminster Rump and the Don.

The Moderate Gentlemen had a select meeting, four days previous to the making of the motion in Parliament, at the *London Tavern*. They called this meeting a dinner; and they invited all Reformers to it, while they imposed a fine of *fifteen shillings* on any one that should go to the dinner. They very well knew

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the effect of this fine; and, their intention was to keep out all men, except such as were really and truly for no reform at all. Here figured away the renowned SIGNOR WAITHMAN, that most respectable "*Esquire*" of shawls and gloves; and "Samuel BROOKES, *Esquire*" and Glassman in the Strand; and "FRANCIS PLACE, *Esquire*" and Taylor of Charing Cross, who, because his yard has *three feet* in mathematical longitude, insists that the nation ought to have parliaments of three years duration, to an hour, neither more nor less, as he will allow of no thumb-piece and of no cabbage. All this is natural enough; and a taylor is as good as another man; but, who the Devil made Messieurs Brookes, Waithman, Adams and Place "*Esquires*?" They are, indeed, the regularly constituted borough-lords of Westminster, acting under the DON; but, as to "*esquires*," who made them *esquires*?

SIGNOR WAITHMAN declared, at the fifteen-shilling meeting, that this was "*the happiest day of his life*;" for, that he now saw the friends of reform *united*; that, *until now*, there had been differences of views amongst the Reformers, and that, indeed, he

had sometimes thought, that *the Ministers had bribed agents* to affect to be Reformers, in order to produce divisions amongst them! Sagacious remark! Conciliating spokesman! Disinterested patriot! Long-headed law-giver! If he had said, "This is the *happiest day of my life*; for, now we are undisturbed by any man that really wishes for a Reform of the Parliament; now a considerable portion of the most strenuous advocates for Reform are in dungeons; now those of them, who are not actually in dungeons, have a bridle in their mouths, and a banishment law nailed to their presses; now, having imposed a fine of fifteen shillings on every man who dares attempt to enter here; now we are *unanimous*; now we are *all of one mind*; now I can bawl out unmeaning expletives by the hour, without being contradicted and without having my sincerity put to the test; and, therefore, this is *the happiest day of my life*." If the SIGNOR had said this, all would have been straight and fair; and not a word of comment should I have made upon this meeting, which, you will please to bear in mind, was *preparatory* to the *Grand Motion* to be made by Mr.

LAMBTON, in the House of Commons. It was, it seems, intended to *give weight* to Mr. LAMBTON in that superb enterprize: and now we will take a look at the manner, in which the enterprize itself was conducted and at that in which it terminated.

The motion was made on the 17th instant, and it was *seconded* (no man so fit) by Mr. MIDDLESEX WHITBREAD. There are two Honourable members of this name, and I do not know their Christian names. Several members spoke; and, after a while, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved an *adjournment* of the debate, which was *resumed* the next night, and which closed in a way, the most ludicrous that can be imagined, and to do justice to which would expose a man to the danger of *banishment*. After some hours of talk, in which the greater part of Mr. LAMBTON's supporters objected to his *plan*, the House divided, when there appeared *for* the motion (which was only to *go into a Committee* on the subject) 43, and against it, 55! But, the best part of the thing was, Mr. HOBHOUSE and other *zealous Reformers*, and even the *mover himself*, were *out of the House*, taking *refreshment*, when the division took place! So that

this augmented the majority against the motion; that Grand Motion, at the meeting preparatory to which Signor Waithman expressed so much *happiness!* However, look at the whole number of members present. It was only 98! When we made a stir, we got 500 members together! We put them on the alert! We made them bustle! We made them prick up their ears to their full length, and to open their mouths most melodiously. We set them to the making of their acts of parliament; and, indeed, we gave the system a blow, the effects of which it will never recover. But, these puling things of "*moderate*" reformers could bring together only 98 people of all sorts and all sizes; and, when the moment for *voting* came, the heroes of the combat, the leader himself, and the great captain Hobhouse were away, behind a stone wall. The former afterwards said, that he was "*getting refreshment*;" to strengthen him, I suppose, for the latter end of the fight. But, what was Mr. HOBHOUSE at? Nature might, perhaps, have called him away for an opposite purpose. Or, was he gone to consult upon the probable effect of Reform on the Commission for *Arrears Debts*?

At any rate, *away he was*, which appeared the more strange from the circumstance, that CANNING, who had been *absent the night before*, was *now present*, and was, by the lookers-on, *expected to speak*. Ah! might not this expectation join its persuasions to the calls of *nature* to produce the otherwise almost unaccountable absence of the two heroes of the field? It is an ugly *suggestion*, but it will press itself on our minds in spite of all the efforts of charity.

But, was not this, my friends, a pretty termination of this Grand Effort? It was, however, what reason, what common sense, taught us to expect. The boroughs are precious things; and did men ever give up precious things merely to gratify the *whim* of persons unpossessed of power either to compensate, to persuade, or to inspire with fear? The borough-owners know well, that these *moderate reformers* have not only none of *the people* at their back; but, that the people in general detest them, as *mischievous meddlers*; and that, at the very least, they are objects of popular contempt.

The people are *just* in this their judgment on these "moderate" persons; *moderate*, indeed, in

point of capacity, will appear very clearly, if the "moderate" intentions be examined; and, I will, for this reason, here make a few remarks on the plan of Mr. LAMBTON, which is, indeed, no other than the old exploded and reprobated plan of making parliaments *triennial*, and of conferring the suffrage on *householders*.

This plan is, as Canning has always told the MODERATES, *destitute of principle*. Mr. LAMBTON, in his *moving* speech, lays it down, that every man who *pays taxes* is entitled to vote for those who impose the taxes; and, his plan excludes *one half of those who pay taxes*; for, in our state of things, no man can see within side of a house, or swallow any sort of food, or any drink, except water, without *paying taxes*, unless, indeed, he *live on taxes*, and, then, he, in the end, pays none. Again, Mr. LAMBTON, and the rest of the "*preparatory school*" at the London Tavern, cheer a letter sent to them by the DON; and the DON, in that cheered letter says: "If I am sent to prison in virtue of laws, made by those *in the choosing of whom I have no share*, I am a *slave*." Thus, then, Mr. LAMBTON's plan is a plan for keeping every unmarried man in a *state of*

slavery. So that the householder plan is not only *destitute of principle*; but it is at war, at open war, with the maxims that its advocates lay down as the grounds of their proceeding to ask for any change at all.

I agree with the boroughmongers and their friends, that the whole question is one of *expediency*: I agree, that what *has* been at any former time is of no consequence in this case. And in this respect I agree with Mr. LAMBTON. When we make comparisons between the former and the present amount of the taxes. When we talk of the time when a standing army in time of peace would have been regarded as a monster. When we thus talk, we are answered by an assertion, *that things are wholly changed*; and a favourite observation of Corruption is, that "one of the *chief excellencies* of our constitution is, that it can so easily *change its shape to accommodate itself to a change of circumstances*." O, brave! But, why cannot it make a little change *here*, then? Why should it be a species of *crime* to propose such a change as will give to every man a vote for law-makers, if such man be liable to be called on

to defend those laws at the risk of his life? Why is this constitution, this "envy of surrounding nations;" this thing, this precious thing, this "admiration of the world," which is flexible in other cases, so unbending in this case?

I say, and so says Mr. LAMBTON, that a Reform is *expedient*. And, on what does he found his allegation of the *expediency*? Why, simply on this: that, if the members of the House of Commons were *freely* chosen by those who pay the taxes, they would be more careful in the laying of taxes and in the expending of the produce of those taxes; that, being the representatives of the people, they would act agreeably to the wishes of a *majority* of the people; for, this is as near as any man can bring representation; and, from such a state of the representative body would arise equal and merciful laws, and, generally speaking, measures conducive to the happiness and honour of the nation.

Now, then, does not this imply the right of *all men* to vote? Does it not imply the *expediency* of the exercise of that right? If it be the *wish of the people* that we are to come at, it must mean the *whole* of the people, and not

a *part* of the people. Aye ; but, the householders would be *enough* ; they, we are told, would speak their own mind and that of the non-householders ; so that the whole would be *represented*, the householders *actually*, and the rest *virtually*. Poh ! poh ! fudge ! Pay your bank-notes in cash, Landholders !

This is a pretty doctrine. This is much of a sort with what we have now at Coventry, at Norwich, at Bristol, at Leicester, at Nottingham, in the Borough and at Westminster ; but it is not so good as the pot-walloping of Honiton and Preston and other places, which is, though still *virtual* choosing, coming nearer the mark than the householder plan.

Oh ! but *property* is to be the *basis* of representation. It is ? Then, as every man has a property in his *labour*, as good, and, indeed, better, than any Parson has in his living, or any lord in his estate, why do you ask for any other basis than that of a capacity to labour in some calling or other ? Must the basis be found in *house* or *land*, then why not let the *lodger* vote as well as the tenant ? And, if you will not do this, call things by their *right names* at any rate. Say *House of*

Property, and not *House of Commons* ; say *Representatives of Lands and Houses*, and not *Representatives of People*. Call things by their right names : be plain with us : do not make use of disguise : tell men, that they are not to be *represented*, till they occupy house and land, and, almost of course, until they *get wives*. Give this new premium to the entrance into the holy state of matrimony ; but, give it *openly* and in distinct terms. Let the petticoat, which, with its consequences, are always a protection to a great extent, against the calls of the country to defend it in arms, be, in addition, made the giver of the right of suffrage ; but, say it *plainly* ; and pray tell us *frankly* your motives. Here are two men (brothers if you like) both single, and both *disqualified* for voting. Bob gets him a wife, and he is instantly a *voter* : Tom does not, and he remains *disqualified*. What does this mean ? What *sense* is there in this ? Not what *reason*, but what in all the world does it mean ? Oh ! you shall hear, my friends, what it means ; and, as you will see, it means a scheme for *perpetuating* corruption under the guise of *Reform*.

We are speaking, you will observe, not of abstract *right*,

but of *expediency*. And, as to our object, it is to cause the wishes of a majority of the community to be spoken by those whom we shall call *representatives of the people*; for, we conclude, as we safely may, that the wishes of a majority of no community can be against the interests of that community. Now, how are we to get at a knowledge of these wishes by confining the suffrage to a *part* of the community? I ask that, and I need go no further. But how are we to ascertain the wishes by addressing ourselves to that part of the community who are *necessarily* (mind that!) who are necessarily, from their very situation in life, the most *dependant*, and the least at liberty to speak their minds *freely*?

Here is the ground, the *real* ground, of all the hankering, on the part of the rich, who call themselves reformers, after the *householder plan*! For, after all, though the number of voters would be augmented, the *freedom of voice would not*; the Labouring Classes would still be as much unrepresented, in fact, as they are now; and *their* wishes would, of course, have no more weight than they now have. Look at any part of the kingdom. Take a circuit of ten miles round;

and you will find, perhaps, a couple, or three, or four, *principal proprietors* of the land. The next class are *their tenants*. Then the *tenants of those tenants*. Then come the *unmarried house servants and lodgers*. Suppose the principal proprietors to be *two* in number. Will they not go themselves, or send their *stewards*, to *march their tenants to the poll* in as good order, and after as strict a *roll-call*, as a colonel marches his regiment from one barrack to another? You know they will, because you know they *do*. And, will they not (if the Lambtonian and Hobhousean reform take place) make every tenant muster *his tenants*, as the colonel makes his captains, subalterns and serjeants, muster and parade their respective companies and squads? Here you have, then, the whole regiment of "*moderate*" reform-voters, in complete order, discipline, and obedience. This will be so, because it must be so; and, really, such a Reform would be a change for the *worse*; for, under the operation of such a plan, the aristocracy of State and Church would have the thing *wholly in their hands*.

But, let in the *fourth* class: let in the *unmarried* and *non-house-*

holder labourers and journeymen, and all the links of the chain of corruption and oppression are snapped asunder in a moment. Here is a restive crew that will take no election *hints* and obey no *commands*. It is in vain to threaten them. If you *discharge* them, their wardrobe and furniture are quickly on their shoulder; they have another master; for, mind, a vacancy *must* be made for them by those whom you *must* have to supply their place. You cannot deprive *them* of a *house* to live in; and, as to your *pay*, they give their labour *in exchange*; and, to *your advantage*, too; for you *must* make a *profit* out of their labour, in some shape or other. They have no wives to whimper at being removed from the vicinage of their mothers and sisters, or to be exposed to peril from unexpected removal at critical times. They have no babies, or sick children, who cannot be removed without danger to life. Their minds are not weighed down by oppressive considerations. They see what is going on; they hear things discussed; they form opinions, and have wishes, like those of their married associates; and they dare *act* upon those wishes, which their married associates dare not.

These bucks would despise the beat of the *election-drum*; they would laugh at the *muster*; and, if they came, by any chance, they would only come to break the ranks, to stimulate others to mutiny, and to throw into confusion the battalion of corruption. Of the two, which is the most independent person, *the butcher* (or any other tradesman) or *his man*? The man, to a certainty; and the master will take a good *scolding*, when the man will give the scolder two words for one.

So that, according to the "*moderate*" plan, *all* are to vote; *all the people* are to vote; *every man* is to have a vote; save and except the man who belongs to that class, *who alone dare to vote agreeably to their own wishes*, which wishes, observe, are, and must be, also the wishes of their dependent married associates. Were it proposed to *withhold the suffrage from householders*, and to give it to unmarried men, the proposition would have something like justice in it. Seeing that the latter would assuredly speak the wishes of the former as well as their own wishes. But, Mr. LAMETON's *virtual representation* plan would give the vote to those, who *must* vote as they are ordered, though against the wishes of

their unmarried neighbours, and keep it from those who would vote according to their own and to their married neighbours' wishes! Admirable scheme for making the parliament speak the *wishes of the people!*

If these arguments stood in need of any facts to enforce them, what should we need more than what we see take place at every election *called popular?* If the single men could have decided the election at Coventry, would it have terminated as it did? It was poor, dependent, married men, *called freemen*, marked with that appellation, that sent *Moore* and *Ellice* to parliament. *CURTIS* has not a hand held up for him by the livery at a *Common Hall*; but, those *same livery* give him a *majority of votes*. He well knows the *tie* by which they are bound; he knows that they *dare not vote* as they please; and he laughs at their *hootings* and *revilings*. "Think of my *family*: think of my *wife* and *children*," is the answer of every wretched creature, who has given a vote against his country and his conscience! Even *Westminster* is under the same species of controul. The government, indeed, has no particular influence here. But, how came it,

that Mr. HUNT had the *show of hands*; and that he got only about *four-score votes* out of *ten thousand*; and, that, Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, who was rejected by the show of hands, was elected by the *votes*? Were the *hand-showers bribed*? That is *impossible*. Their hands certainly indicated *their wishes*. But, when the *voters*; when the *householders* came; when these had been twice to *visit them*. When the RUMP had swelled itself out to *three hundred* in number; when each of these had *talked* with the *masters* of the wretched householders; when these masters had *talked* with the householders themselves, the householders acted very differently from what they themselves had done, when they *held up their hands!* And thus it is, and thus only, that Mr. HOBHOUSE, at any rate, is a member for Westminster. The son of a *placeman*; the son of a man who has been a *Commissioner of Arcot Debts*, for years; living under the same roof with that *placeman*; deriving, in all human probability, as much advantage from the present system as sons in general derive from their father's wealth; having a direct interest in the upholding of the system; being so situated as to render any

attack from him, on places and sinecures absolutely indecent: this being the case, let me put it to any man of sense, whether the people of Westminster would have chosen him as a member, if the unmarried and unfettered men had had a vote at the election?

No wonder, then, at all this hankering *after the householder plan!* It is of all plans the very worst, if we could suppose it possible for it to be *permanent*. It would, indeed, take the *money bribes* away from many who now receive them; but, if men be to vote against their consciences; if the wishes of others, and not their own wishes, be to direct them what to say, it is as well for them to get *money* by the peeping as not: a false oath is still a false oath, whether procured by inspiring fear or giving money, and whether there be many or one engaged in the subornation.

So much for Mr. LAMBTON's abortive attempt at "*moderate Reform*," at the "*preparatory school*" for which Signor Waithman enjoyed the happiest day of his life. But, it is worthy of remark, that the far greater part of those, who *spoke in favour* of going into a Committee, *disapproved* of the householder plan;

and, that, too, observe, because it went *too far!* Bless'us! They will see something *go a little farther*, I believe, before they get the Debt paid. LORD MILTON has *changed his mind* since the time when he was "*younger*." Well: so far so good: but, it is very naughty, you know, to be *inconsistent!* However, he is in the *right road*; and, let us hope, that he will get along. He thought, that the householder plan would *endanger the Constitution*. That would be a pity; for the Constitution gives support to some of the prettiest gentlemen and ladies in the world; and it gives *Burke's Executors* two thousand five hundred pounds a year, which a *real* reform of parliament would, in all likelihood take away! It secures to us the use of the law-giving talents of Messrs. SCARLETT, BROUGHAM, ABERCROMBIE, MACKINTOSH, and a great many others, which a real reform of parliament might, by possibility, take from us; and, therefore, *such a constitution is not to be endangered*. Lord MILTON, in 1816, said, *he wished to come to close quarters with the Reformers*; the next year, when he appeared likely to be gratified in this respect, he spoke and voted for a bill to screw up their mouths.

To close quarters with *such reformers* as Messrs. LAMBTON and HOBHOUSE, with whom the calls of nature are so powerful as to abstract them from the field in the heat of the fight, his lordship may safely come; but, I am half disposed to believe, that he would not, with the real reformers, carry on a combat for any length of time, without calling aloud for protection from Bills of some sort or other. When Mr. MADDOX brought forward his memorable motion relative to the seat of Quintin Dick, Lord MILTON was the man, who said, that he did *not think the worse*, on that account, of those who had been engaged in the transaction! However, Lord MILTON was “*younger*” then than he is now; and is a great deal younger now than he will be in a few years hence, especially if the *wheat* keeps falling in price!

The state of Corruption is very perilous, and, not less perilous on account of our *tranquillity*. The *Six-Acts* really did Corruption harm. They deprived her of the use of those lies and bug-bears, with which she used to deceive and frighten the timid. “*That general working of events*,” of which Lord Castlereagh speaks so eloquently, is belabouring Cor-

ruption more than she ever was belaboured before. The *middle classes*, we are now told, *want reform*. Want it! Why, they always *wanted* it; but, they did not dare mention the word, till some of the Landlords *wanted* to put out the ministers by the sound. Faith, the Ministers, are not to be driven off by *sounds*. They are not afraid of blank cartridges.

However, let us leave this “*moderate*” stuff to its fate, and look a little at that, which is really interesting to us; namely, the efforts that are now making by the *land-people* to *raise and keep up the price of Corn*! They pretend, that this is for the good of *commerce and manufactures*; and, daylight does not follow dark more certainly, than the adoption of their scheme would totally ruin both, which, indeed, are already more than half-ruined. They wish to have no *warehousing*, and to have a duty imposed as high as the full price of corn ought to be. Wages, and particularly in commerce and manufactures, could not be raised; and, of course, hundreds of thousands must *help themselves, or die quietly from hunger*. Yet, it is very certain, that the *Landlords* and the *Big-farmers* must come down to a

very low state, unless something be done, which shall *take off taxes*, or *give them a high price for corn*. Now mind, *this* is the "*working of events*." This is the tickler. There the system is in its *agony*.

The Committee of the Honourable Honourable House, appointed to *inquire* relative to the agony of what is called "*agriculture*," but which means *Landlords* and *Big-farmers*, have not made any *report* yet; and a most curious affair it will be, whenever it comes. They have had, the news-papers say, Mr. ATTWOOD before them. This person is a *banker* along with the *Spooners* of *Birmingham*; and his doctrine is, that Paper-money is, amongst other things, meat, drink, clothing, firing, washing, and lodging; that *with it*, a people cannot be unhappy; and that, without it, they must be miserable. His grand source of individual and of national prosperity, power and glory, consists of innumerable bits of paper of an oblong square form, having printed, or written on them, promises to be exchangeable, at the will and pleasure of the bearer, into other pieces of paper, of precisely the same dimensions and form, and having printed on them the very same promises! This political doctor, upon being reminded, that the

nation is brought (in a pecuniary way) to death's door, while their bits of paper have been afloat, answers, almost in the words of Doctor Sangrado: "Paper, taken *in small quantities* is an evil; *you ought to have bales, nay, waggon-loads of it.*" The TANNER, you know, after hearing the Carpenter eulogize the strength of heart of Oak, and the Mason that of good solid stone, said, "Gentlemen, do as you please; but, if you have a mind *to have your town well fortified*, *take my word for it there is nothing like leather*;" and, you will not, therefore, be surprized, that Mr. Attwood recommends *Paper*.

The Landlords and Big-farmers (mortal foes of Reform, mind!) do not seem to relish Mr. ATTWOOD's doctrine. They want *high prices* indeed; but they want them to be paid in gold. They want *ten* shillings a bushel for their wheat at the *lowest*, and to leave the rest to Providence; but, they want to have the ten shillings in *real money*; so that, in fact, they want *about twenty shillings of the present money*! This is modest enough; but, I have the pleasure to assure you, that they are much more likely to get *three shillings than*

twenty shillings a bushel. I said, months ago, that wheat would, by JUNE, be *six shillings a bushel*, if Peel's Bill were not repealed. The average of wheat is *lower than that already*; and (barring a bad harvest or a short crop) it will be down to *five*, for the best wheat, before Christmas. This will smite the Big-farmers somewhat in the way that EHUD smote EGLON. It will send the very hilt into their paunches. Next it will reach the *Landlords*; who, indeed, have been partially hit already. The farmers who have leases will not stand those leases long. They may, indeed, *seize* for rent; but, for the seizure to be of any use, there must be somebody, or something to *seize* on. There will be many a *moon-light flitting*. Those who have leases will, in many cases, thresh out and sell their corn as soon as it is in barn; will sell their stock; will sell their goods to a relation and get it away piece meal; will gather up their havings: and will go and dive into the Atlantic Ocean, and come up again on the other side of the water, as ducks do, when they flee from dogs or hunters. From Sussex, and from the richest part of it too, they are packing off at a great rate. This is, indeed, the only way they

have left to avoid becoming day-labourers and paupers. They must labour in America, unless they have a nice little parcel of money each; but, then, nobody will *see* their *humiliation*: nobody will know what they once were: they will have nobody (except by mere chance) to remind them of *Gomanry Gavaltry* times. They will, at times, cast a look behind them; and think of John, or Robin, who used to black their shining boots, and bring out their gay horses for them to mount. But, still, this will be better than an English poor-house, where they would have to endure the open scoffs of those who formerly crawled before them and cursed them in their hearts. Those amongst the farmers, who have *never willingly supported* the system, will, in general, be safe; for, they have never *confided* in it; and, as for the rest, they are objects of any thing but pity.

Nothing ever was so impudent as the attempt to make us believe, that the nation would be *benefited* by *high price of human food*. The natural consequence of a reduction of prices, is, to throw a larger portion of food into the possession of the Labouring Classes, *generally*, though, for a *time*, particular and local circum-

stances may make a change from high to low price worse for manufacturers, squeezed up in some comparatively small corner. Two little paragraphs, in a last-week's newspaper, struck me :

"*Farthing loaves of bread* were sold, last market day, in the market place at MANSFIELD. Many purchased them, some for food, and others out of curiosity."

Curiosity! Why curiosity? A pound of good flour does not, in the country, cost *six farthings*. A pound of flour will make a loaf almost as big as *third* of a quartern loaf. Take the third of a quartern loaf, and cut it into six parts, and you will find, that you have got *six good hunches of bread*, any one of which is better than a whole hog-trough full of watery matter, called potatoes.

Curiosity, indeed! I can remember when *farthing rolls* were more common than penny rolls; and, I trust, we shall see the same again. The other paragraph was this :

"The *Theatres* at *York, Hull, Wakefield* and *Doncaster*, are shut up."

Thank God! exclaimed I, and then read on; and immediately after came the above paragraph about the *farthing loaves* at *Mansfield*! Thus it works. This is

Castlereagh's "*general working of events*." Truly this is a great statesman and an amiable person after all! Mind! while I think of it, *he* must have *our support* in his resolution to thrust Peel's Bill down the throats of the Land-People! Mind that: never think of the past, if he will but let us have *farthing loaves*.—Next to the plenty of food amongst the labouring classes, comes, in point of satisfaction-giving power, the fall of all the *vagabond* train of players and other excrescences of the paper-system. It is not more than about thirty years since no *play-house* existed in any town but London. The vagrants that used to exhibit plays in the country towns, were compelled to resort to barns and stables, through the boards of which the boys used to make holes to see the kings and queens pulling off their rags and putting on their gilded paper. Now, there is a play-house: no, "*a theatre*," in any town! Even in such a place as Winchester, that does not contain above five thousand people, there must be a theatre; and all the young lads are to be gabbling about "*the theatre*," instead of sweeping out the shops and waiting upon customers. A fine change is coming. We shall

see all the *pompous, house-performing* vagrant train sweep away, and see the Mountebanks and Jack-puddings come back again. The player-people have driven out these legitimate buffoons of the country, as the Hanover-Rats drove out black English-Rats, which were poor harmless creatures that very seldom plundered either the mow or the dairy. These player-people are grown up to a sort of corporation, or profession. Many of the player-women, though, at the very best, *licensed vagrants*, have married with great people; so that to be "on the stage" is become to be regarded as a step on the ladder of honour, instead of on the descent to opprobrium. The acting and manners of these people are aped by young folks. One shop-boy treats you to threadbare witticisms, and another approaches you with knees as stiff as those of a tragedy-hero. Hence the *stays* round the carcases of men, the pads on their shoulders, the plumpers in front, the false hips, the high-heels; and all the several apish items, for any one of which a man ought to be whipped like a dog, and shut up a month upon bread and water; for even such an offender I would not condemn to potatoes. Oh! Let us have

the out-a-doors vagrants back again! Let us have the Mountebanks and the Jack-puddings; let the country fellows and girls have their *two-penny hops*; and then let the tract-distributors do their worst!

However, the decline of the player-calling is most interesting as it is a proof of falling off in the means of those, by whom the player-people, especially in the country, were upheld. There were the Big-farmers, the Parsons, the Landlords, the Big-Manufacturers and the Big-Merchants, who are all coming down to their standard bulk; and who will all be safely down to that bulk, if the Bill of Peel be pushed on another year. The country will keep on producing food; and, the less of it that is devoured by such people as players, the more there must be for those that *work*. Mr. ATTWOOD (who is the great man in this way) may sing, as long as he pleases, the praises of paper-money. We know, that, before Pitt's paper came, labouring men *brewed their own beer* and *eat meat every day*; and we know, that they now do neither; or, at least, that they have not for years; though I hear, and with delight, that they are now beginning to do both again.

But, the great blessing of this reduction of prices, is, that it brings *reform* in its train, as surely as summer follows winter. The farmers will be all Radicals in a year, and the Landlords will not be many months behind them. It may be *too late* for our old and steady friends, the 'Squires; but, we shall have them amongst us upon some lay or another. This is, too, the *best way* for us to get the thing done. A *row* would not be half so good. We cannot be worse off than we were; and we may (and must, if Peel's Bill be enforced) be better off. The land will *still* be *tilled*, in spite of all the lies of the "grand Agricultural Committee," and it will produce. It will, by degrees, fall into *new hands*, and that will be a very good thing. The Fundlords, in sticking tight, are *working for us*, mind! What we want is to see them and their natural foes *at it*, tooth and nail; and when they are *fast*, we may say the country is *saved*.

It is at once curious and interesting to see this great system, which has filled the world with wonder, *working out its own destruction*; toiling and turning and twisting and tumbling about, like a slug, dusted with hot lime!

It needs no external foe: it is its own self-destroyer, as it has been its self-creator. It were a pity to disturb it, even by complaints of its effects. No man that has not had a hand in carrying it on, should touch it; and, if it were God's good pleasure, every one who has it now in hand should live to see it out. A great deal is lost to the world, as to this lesson of political philosophy and morality, by *a change of managers*, whether arising from death or other causes. We lose much of the *identity* of the thing, when we lose the person with whose name it has been connected. I would, if I could, have all the present Ministers and present Members of Parliament, live for fifty years to come, that they might not only witness the result of the "*general working* of "events;" but, that some of us, or of our children, might have to remind them of the several parts that they are acting now.

It is, be assured, a dream more wild than ever visited the mind of a madman, to suppose, that the *full* interest of the Debt can be paid *in gold, or silver*, even for a year, much less *for ever*. Yet, gold, *some* gold, may get out; and let me exhort you, let me beseech you, to *put safely by*,

without saying a word about the matter, any piece of gold or silver that you can get. No matter how small. A sixpence will buy 24 farthing loaves, a shilling 48, and a sovereign 968; and, as these loaves will be twice as big as they are now, one single sovereign, or 20 shillings, will buy bread for a man for a whole year! Now, I implore you to think of this! If you treat it with disdain, which I hope you will not, the day will surely come, when you will say: "If I had but followed Cobbett's advice, I should now have had a little fortune." Put no money into *Savings Banks*; having nothing to do with calculation of interest. When the money is once out of your hands, it is no longer safe. Give not away pennies to the Methodist Parson. "Freely" if he have "received," let him "freely give;" and, remember, that to *sell* is not to give. In the high-Scotch dictionary, to *give* is to *sell*; that is to say, to *give* a thing *for so much*. Do not you receive any spiritual gift in this way. Remember that a penny a week to a parson, will buy you four farthing loaves, which is enough for *one day* out of seven, if you have meat or butter or cheese to eat with the bread. Talk not, therefore, of

"little children crying for bread," while four loaves from you and "four from the mother go into the ever-cramming maw of the Priest." If you should get a considerable sum together keep it in *hard money*. Trust no *securities*, no *insurance*; these words mean their contraries: they mean *insecurity* and *chance*. Remember, that every thing of this sort will follow the *fate of the funds*; and, that, if the Fundlords pull the Landlords down, that will not secure the former *in the end*. One of two things must happen: the paper, on Mr. ATTWOOD's plan, must come out again; or, the whole paper-fabric will go to pieces, and happy he who has a piece of real money in his pocket. According to present appearances Mr. ATTWOOD's thanks to the Ministers, will not be adopted. But, they must brace up their nerves. They must stand true; and *we* must all stand firmly by them. They *think* they can work through. I can see that clearly: and God be their support! If they once give way, though but for an inch, back we come helter-skelter, smothered over head and ears in snips of paper! In the *end*, indeed, it will be the same; but, I wish the trial of strength to be made now. They are in the full

tide of experiment, and though rocks be under them and all about them, go on they must and go on they will; for, if they veer about, they become the everlasting scorn of the world.

VAN said, during the last debate upon the subject: "*Now or Never*;" an old word with enterprizing captains in the field of Venus as well as in that of Mars. I perfectly agree as to this, with VAN; It must be "*now*," or "*never*;" I only wish that I were as certain that it would be *now*; for now is the time of all times, and such a time will, and can, never return. We are at peace: there is no danger of war: all is quiet within: not a mouse peeps from his hole. Here is a clear stage for the several classes of the heroes of the system to display their skill and prowess. No extraneous causes can be alleged; no obstacles or interruptions from within. "This mighty Empire, proudly reposing in the lap of peace, is putting to rights her own internal affairs, in order to derive from her past exertions the lasting prosperity merited by her generous sacrifices and glorious deeds, and in order to give an exemplification of the super-excellence of that Con-

stitution, which is the envy of surrounding nations and the admiration of the world."

Therefore, without borrowing further and enriching my page by the words of the illustrious Commoner, from whose at once sublime and profound, lofty and deep, composition I have been tempted to take the liberty to quote, I again say, that *this is the time*.

How, after having led you up into the highest regions, am I to bring you down? Yet, before I conclude, I must bring you down; and, *down* indeed it is; for it is to the *Morning Chronicle*, and what is worse, to the *thefts* of that paper. It has been the *habit* of this paper, for many years, to pillage me, and to calumniate me at the same time: robbery is, but too often, accompanied with murder. But, I must say, that, of late, the calumny has ceased: not thus the robbery; for that is continued, and, at last, in so open and shameless a manner, that correspondents send me the paper, pointing out the particular instances; as in the following article of the *Chronicle* of the 21st instant, which some unknown friend sent me marked with italics, and accompanied with notes, just as inserted here.

“ But the subject, which more
 “ immediately demands atten-
 “ tion, is the distress of the
 “ Agriculturists. The hopes with
 “ which the *Landholders* long
 “ amused themselves, that the ar-
 “ tificial state of things produced
 “ by the war could be continued
 “ in peace, are now pretty gene-
 “ rally dispelled. (1) Prices can-
 “ not be kept up, and conse-
 “ quently rents cannot be kept
 “ up, while family arrangements
 “ have been made, and debts con-
 “ tracted on the supposition of
 “ the continuance of high rents,
 “ and the taxation continues un-
 “ diminished. (2) Shamefully as
 “ the Gentlemen of England have
 “ neglected the duty which they
 “ owed to their country, and
 “ blind as they have shewn them-
 “ selves, even to the permanent
 “ interest of their own families,
 “ it is impossible not to feel for
 “ the situation in which they are
 “ placed. The distress has been
 “ called agricultural; but it ought
 “ to receive another name; it is
 “ the distress of the landholders.
 “ (3) Farmers, indeed, who pos-
 “ sess their lands on leases, are,
 “ no doubt, suffering severely at
 “ this moment; but the num-
 “ ber of those in this situa-
 “ tion must diminish every day,
 “ while those who hold their

“ lands at will, if they are now
 “ distressed, will take care not to
 “ remain so. (4) The agricul-
 “ tural labourers must upon the
 “ whole be better off than they
 “ were. (5) From the tyranny of
 “ the Poor Laws, they were
 “ unable to share in the pros-
 “ perity of the landlord and far-
 “ mer during the war, their wages
 “ having uniformly in England
 “ been unequal to the support
 “ of themselves and families, and
 “ part of their support having
 “ been derived from the parish.
 “ While an unmarried labourer
 “ in Scotland was receiving from
 “ 20l. to 24l. and board, less than
 “ the half of that sum was paid
 “ in England.—While the one
 “ could save money, the other
 “ could save none. (6) But as
 “ wages rose in England to their
 “ proper level during the war,
 “ they will not now experience
 “ much fall, and the variation
 “ will chiefly be in the share de-
 “ rived from the parish. (7) The
 “ single men will of course be
 “ greatly benefitted by the low pri-
 “ ces. Accordingly we now hear
 “ of few complaints from labour-
 “ ers in any part of the
 “ country.--(8)

“ The prospect of the pro-
 “ prietors of land is there-
 “ fore the most gloomy of all

“ at the present moment. The
 “ interest of the National Debt
 “ will allow of little reduction of
 “ the taxation; *and even a re-*
 “ *duction of taxation without a re-*
 “ *duction of the amount of mort-*
 “ *gages, and other debts,* (9)
 “ would not effectually relieve
 “ the class in question. But the
 “ idea of any such reduction can-
 “ not be entertained by any one
 “ who has reflected on the num-
 “ berless difficulties which it pre-
 “ sents.” (10)

(1.) By *whom*? Cobbett fore-
 told us it in 1814, and many
 times in 1815 and 1816.

(2.) Cobbett a hundred times
 told.

(3.) Cobbett, only the other
 day, Letter to *Gaffer* Gooch,
 almost word for word.

(4.) Cobbett, Letter to *Gaffer*
 Gooch.

(5.) Cobbett, Letter to *Mr.*
 Gooch.

(6.) Cobbett, Letter to *Mr.*
 Huskisson.

(7.) Cobbett, Letter to *Mr.*
 Gooch.

(8.) Cobbett, Letter to *Gaffer*
 Gooch.

(9.) Cobbett, Petition to Par-
 liament, where he *petitioned* for
 a reduction of mortgages and
 other Debts and also of the inte-
 rest of the National Debt.

(10.) Cobbett, First Letter to
 Earl Grey.

Thus for my correspondent.
 And I have only to add, that,
 though the plagiarism is glaring
 enough, I am by no means dis-
 pleased to see it take place. How-
 ever, Mr. PERRY's is a *gloomy*
 conclusion indeed! For, if the
 Landlords be not to be relieved
even by a reduction of the Debt,
without a reduction of mortgages;
and, if a reduction of those can-
not take place, they may as well
 hang themselves out-right, and
 leave us radicals to *cut them down,*
 which they might, probably,
 expect, upon the principle, that
one good turn deserves another.
 Thus to see the great champion
 of the “*Patriots of the Soil*”
 give up in *despair* would be
 alarming, were it not that we
 gather comfort from the prospect
 that makes him sad. He says
 we must *feel* for the Landlords;
 and that, I trust, we do, as *we*
ought to feel; just so much, and
 no more. I feel for them as they
 have felt for us. We have had
 our day of suffering, and it is but
 reasonable, that they should have
 theirs. If they cannot get *prices*
up, their day is at hand; and, let
 them remember, that their suffer-
 ings arise out of a system, for en-
 deavouring to put an end to

which *in time*, we have been made to suffer.

I am,

My Friends,

Your faithful friend,

And obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

MR. SCARLETT,

Figuring away in the North.

No. II.

I just touched upon this gentleman in my last; but, the notice, which I thought right to take of the *parties* in the cases, in which the deputy Attorney General had been engaged, and which were then under consideration, prevented me from doing any more as to the lawyer himself than merely to touch upon him, and to quit him abruptly, with observing, that he had, during the trials of that unfortunate missionary of the RUMP, Mr. EVANS the younger, put forth certain *opinions* and made certain *assertions*, on which I should, in this present number, take the liberty to remark.

I am now proceeding to act according to that intimation; for, though lawyers are to do the best that they can for their clients; though they are not to be made amenable to the criminal code for any thing that they may say in-

cautiously in their speeches at the bar; there are *bounds* to this; for, I suppose that it will not be pretended, that a lawyer would make, with impunity, his speeches the vehicle of an exhortation to the people *to kill the king*. There are *bounds* here, then, even with regard to legal impunity; and, at any rate, these speeches, especially when they appear *in print*, are fairly liable to the animadversions of that press, the *freedom*, of which this Mr. SCARLETT so highly extolled at the very moment when he was bawling and ranting, and scolding and sweating to get the unfortunate Rumpite convicted for having remarked on public matters through the channel of that same press!

Yet, if Mr. SCARLETT were a lawyer and a lawyer *only*, the pages containing his opinions and assertions, (which, after all, are but magpie-like common-place) would, for me, go quietly to the snuff-shop, or to be torn up for purposes more correspondent with the matter imprinted on them. But, he is a Deputy Attorney General; and what is more, he is a *Member of the Honourable House*; and, therefore, the doctrines he lays down, the opinions he parades, and the assertions he makes, let the occasion be what

it may, merit some attention. I remember the passage of KENYON, LAW, BEST, and many other lawyers, *through the Honourable House*. Mr. SCARLETT is by no means singular in his taste as to channel; but, when a man, thus situated, puts forth dangerous doctrines, or sports with assertions, he should be *tackled*; and it is necessary also to tackle him *in time*; as gardeners prevent their rampant onions from running up to seed by twisting their necks and bending down the aspiring part. There is Mr. BROUGHAM, for instance, who, by having been *tackled*, is become a plant of fair promise. He was, about a year ago, very fast running up to seed. Indeed he had been let alone much too long: the seed-stalk was towering up, and even the pestals began to show themselves. He was brought down, indeed, at last, though to bring him down required a good deal of trouble. *Twist after twist* became necessary; a process *à plusieurs reprises*. Mr. SCARLETT is not so far gone; and, besides, the *season* is not a very *growing one*. Nipping frosts, though not visible, prevail, while a starving drought seems to have assailed the soil in which legal politicians so recently flourished. This, therefore, though

a very strong, that is to say, a very *peppery*, plant, will, I take it, be kept within moderate bounds by a couple or three twistings, judiciously performed, at suitable times.

As to what Mr. SCARLETT said of the "*libel*," as he called it, it was no more than Perceval and Gibbs and so many others have said, upon so many similar occasions, so many thousand times over. He said, that the defendant had published *falsehoods*; though he was not permitted to offer proof of their being true. He ran on in the old way about danger to the *public tranquillity*; and he got a verdict of guilty for the government, who was his client upon this occasion. *There* let that remain, then, and let Mr. SCARLETT enjoy all his share of the honour of the transaction.

But, he went *beyond his brief*; he talked about things, with which Mr. Evans's publication had nothing at all to do. He entered into long eulogies on the judicial practice of the *constitution*; he asserted that *the press was free*; he cried aloud, and ceased not, in extolling the fostering care with which the Nobility watched over the *liberties of the country*; he defended the keeping up of a *standing army in time of peace*;

he asserted that the government meant to make no ill-use of that army; he, besides all this, asserted that the present taxes were necessary; he stood out for what he calls, in the lingo of the day, the "*Public Creditor*;" and, lastly, he unqualifiedly asserted, that no blame was imputable to the government for any of the distresses that have fallen upon the nation, as to which he uttered the profound matter which I shall give, in a minute in his own words.

Of the Constitution Mr. SCARLETT told the *Lancashire Special Jury*, that "*No country on earth presented so beautiful a spectacle as this, in the administration of the laws. In no other were they administered by the people themselves. In other states the government appointed and paid the officers, through whose hands justice was obtained. Here the people themselves, without the interposition of the government, performed the same business. The meanest man in England could not be convicted of any offence, not even of a libel, except in cases where informations were filed, unless twenty-four of his countrymen, indifferently chosen, declared him guilty. There was no man, however low his con-*

dition, tried in that castle, though the king's name was used against him, who could even be put on his trial unless twelve principal gentlemen of the county had concurred in saying that he ought to be tried; or could afterwards be convicted, unless twelve others, after hearing the evidence on both sides, agreed respecting his guilt. Who paid these gentlemen? They discharged these important services without remuneration. They presented a spectacle unknown in any other country."—Bravo! Stick to it! Hang on to it! But, alas! it is too late! The day is gone by.—The thing is, to be sure, a "*beautiful*" thing; but not for the reasons which this hero gives. It is, take all the parts together, a "*beautiful spectacle*;" but, Mr. SCARLETT, do you think that the Lancashirers will actually believe, that the government has nothing to do in appointing and paying the Judges and Officers of the court, and the Crown Officers who nominate the *Special Juries*? Or, is there a mental reservation here, seeing that the people really do pay them all, seeing that they are paid out of the taxes? And, did not the government pay you your fee upon this occasion? Or,

did you mean, that the fee *came* out of the pockets of the people, and that Mr. Evans, whom you were so gallantly pursuing, would, of course, have to pay, or had already paid, his share of that fee? You say, that the Grand Jurymen are *indifferently chosen*. Very well, but the *people* have nothing to do with *choosing them*. They are *chosen*, if they be chosen, by the *Sheriff*; and, pray do the *people* appoint the sheriff? Then there were the "twelve others;" and you asked, who *paid* these. That was indiscreet; for you had got a *special Jury* before you; and, you know very well, that they *are paid*, and you know also the pocket out of which the money comes; and yet you said, or the report makes you say, that they discharged their "important duties *without remuneration*!" However, I perfectly agree with you, that they do "present a "spectacle." all circumstances taken into view," *unknown in any other country*!" There are, indeed, *STATES*, and many of them, where *Juries* are in vogue; but *such* juries as those, one of which you had before you, such "spectacles" as this, are, I am proud to say, "*unknown in any other country*."

His remarks on the *Liberty of*

the Press were made during his speech on the trial for the paragraph on Dr. CUNLIFF of *Bury*.

"He had never yet met with
 "any advocate for a free press,
 "to whatever extent he might
 "carry his opinions, who would
 "venture to attempt a defence
 "for a libellous attack on the
 "character of a private individual. *The public conduct of*
 "*the highest monarch in Europe*
 "*might be arraigned and freely*
 "*canvassed*, but was it to be *en-*
 "*dured* that any man should be
 "stigmatised as an adulterer or
 "villain, because it might please
 "the editor of a newspaper so to
 "designate him? Were these
 "gentlemen to be licensed to
 "hold up to public contempt and
 "detestation, every person upon
 "whom they might choose to fast-
 "en the foulest and most scanda-
 "lous reproaches?" If *public*
 "*men* were properly entitled to be
 "*shielded* against attacks of this
 "description, how much more
 "justly ought this protection to
 "be extended to the unobtrusive
 "members of private life."
 ". "The liberty of the
 "press could scarcely be valued too
 "highly, but attacks on private
 "character formed no part of
 "that *inestimable privilege*. No
 "man was to be held up to the

"derision, scorn, and contempt of his townsmen and acquaintances, amongst whom he had hitherto lived respected and esteemed."—Mr. Scarlett appears to have made use of this phrase, "is to be *endured*," no less than seventeen times during these trials; and, if he have any regard for my peace of mind, he will never make use of it again. I thought it had, after having been forbidden to shop-boys and hackney-coachmen, become *sacred* to an assembly, not less remarkable for the propriety and neatness of its language than for the profundity of its thoughts, the purity of its motives and the spotlessness of its character.—The doctrine, here laid down, would, as far as it relates to persons in private life, be sound enough, if it had been accompanied with a proviso, that the attack was *false*; but, without that, the doctrine is *hollow*: it is false doctrine; and can only tend to make *rich* or *powerful villainy* secure even from the lash of the press. No, Mr. Scarlett, it is not to be "*endured*," that a man is to be stigmatized as "an adulterer or a villain" because it "might please the editor of a newspaper so to designate him;" but, because he *is* an adulterer or

a villain! Who attempts to defend "*libellous* attacks on individuals?" Nobody; but, attacks that are *true* are not "*libellous*," in my view of the thing; and in the view also of millions of others. If "*no man*" be to be held up to *public scorn*, how is the press to correct the public morals? If this be the case, all the newspaper reports of examinations of felons before Justices; all the accounts of trials for felony; and all the accounts even of *hangings*, are so many *libels*. Poh! This is sheer nonsense. If DOCTOR CUNLIFFE had reviled the Queen; if he had objected to her health being drunk, on account of her Majesty's falsely imputed conduct; and if he himself had been in the habit of preferring the beds of his maid servants to that of his wife, he would have been a shocking old hypocrite, and it would have been a duty in any one, who happened to have the means, to expose him to *public scorn*, that being the only way to punish him, and the only way of deterring others from following his example. The charge against the Old Doctor, as to the *maids*, appears to have been *false*; and *therefore*, and *therefore only*, it was, in the eye of reason and

sound morality, unjustifiable.— But, our hero tells us, that “*public men*” are also “*properly entitled to be shielded*” in this way. Now, if I were to call a man a *peculator*, that means *public robber*, or *robber of the public*. Does not this touch his *private character*? Can he be a *robber*, and yet a man of *good morals*? Or, must I do as the people in Italy do with regard to one of their priests; that is, first say, “*saving your gown*,” and then pitch on upon him and load him with all sorts of accusations; call him fornicator, adulterer, thief and murderer, all in a breath? *Poh!* This is nonsense again. It is a mere cavil used for the purpose of gagging the press.— After this, what there is left to make us “*value highly*” the “*Liberty of the Press*,” it is difficult to imagine; and equally difficult to imagine what that “*Liberty*” can mean. We are told by this hero, that “*the public conduct*” of the highest “*monarch in Europe may be freely canvassed*.” Indeed! And, have we never heard of men being *shut up in prisons* for canvassing freely the *public conduct of the late and the present king*? Aye, but, then, they canvassed it *seditionously*! How?

What does that mean? Why, it means, that they canvassed it in a way, tending to bring the King into *hatred and contempt*. Well, and is not such the *necessary tendency of all canvassing* that includes censure on the party? Was the canvassing of these unfortunate men *false*? We do not know that; because they were not permitted to give proof of the truth, in their justification. So that this assertion is *not true*. No man *dares*, through the means of the press, *freely canvass* the public conduct of the King; for, there is now a positive law, to *banish him*, if he, a second time, write, print, or publish any thing, *tending* to bring the King into hatred or contempt; and a *free canvassing* of the King’s conduct, if it include *disapprobation* of that conduct, must of *necessity*, have that *tendency*.—We may, after this, in vain pore our eyes out in hunting after this “*inestimable privilege*,” which our hero calls “*the Liberty of the Press*.” As, however, the Judge (Best) thought proper to say something very solemn on the subject, I will endeavour to throw a little light upon a matter, which, notwithstanding a great deal of theory with no slight portion of *practice*, seems still to be but imperfectly

understood. *Judge Best* said, that, though the Jury were to convict the defendant (on the libel case relating to the army), "the *utmost* liberty of the press would *still* *subsist*. God forbid that should be *infringed* upon! The constitution *itself* could not long survive the *freedom* of *discussion*." Well, then, bless us! this must be an "*inestimable* *privilege*" indeed. However, *vague* and *general* descriptions are bad: they lead to error; and, therefore, I will now give in detail, a description of this inestimable privilege. FIRST, you cannot have a *press* from a press-maker's, unless his name be recorded, as a press-maker, in the archives of the government, who can make him render an account of all the presses he sells, and of the persons to whom sold. It is the same with regard to the *Types*.—SECOND, before you use a *press*, you must take out a *licence*, pay a fee for it, and have your name recorded with the Clerk of the Peace, who is to furnish the government with the record when it pleases to call for it. And, if a Justice suspect you of using an unlicensed press, he may enter your house, and, if he find his suspectings true, may take away your press and types.—

THIRD (in case of news-papers) you must have *stamps*, and *security* that you will pay duty on the advertisements *before* you print. Then, the printer, the publisher, and the proprietor must all go to the Stamp-Office and severally *swear*, that they are the printer, publisher, and proprietor, and that the paper is to be printed at such a place, published at such a place and that the carcasses of the swearers are usually deposited at such and such places, being their places of residence. If either change place of residence; if the place of printing or publishing be changed, or if printer, publisher or proprietor be changed, the whole must go again to the Stamp-Office, and *swear again*: and this document, accompanied with the offending news-paper, a copy, signed by the publisher, you are, of every number, compelled to lodge at the Stamp-Office, are always to be *evidence*, if produced, against all the parties in case of charge of libel. This is not all the preliminary work. You must, *before you dare print*, have two *bondsmen*, bound for *three hundred pounds* each, to pay, in case any fine should be inflicted on you, at any time, the amount of that fine, if not exceeding *three hundred pounds*.

This is *before* you dare print at all. You have thus sureties for your good behaviour, before you *can* have committed any offence! Oh, "*inestimable privilege!*" "*God*" as Judge Best says, but, let us proceed with our detail.—FOURTH, you do not like all these previous ceremonies: you will not publish a news-paper. You will publish in the *pamphlet-way*, and then there will be *no stamp*, and no previous *securities* and *swearings*. Ah! Will you? Faith the "*Grand Council*" have taken care of you here too. They will let you publish no *periodical* thing at a *less price* than *sixpence*, that is to say, nearly the price of a *quarten-loaf*, and they will not suffer you to have it of a *less bulk* than *two sheets and a quarter!* You must put the printer's *name* and *place of abode* on the first leaf of your pamphlet; and you must have it printed at a *licenced press*. As to *plays*, they are not to be acted without a *previous censorship*; and, if any one contain any thing not relished by the government, the acting may be put a stop to.—FIFTH, Having gone over a *part*, and a *part only*, of the regulations *before you go to press*, we should now go into a detail of the laws, as administered,

relating to libel; but, much detail is not necessary here. Suffice it to say, that, if a Minister were to *rob the Exchequer*, and you had *proof* of it, you might be punished by fine, imprisonment, or banishment, for *stating the fact*, and would not be permitted to produce to the Jury proof of the *truth* of your statement. And, further, you may be punished in like manner for publishing any thing, which has a *tendency* to expose either king, or government, or either House of Parliament into *contempt*. As to the Jury to try you, it may, at the pleasure of the prosecutor, be a *special one*; and special juries are *nominated* by the *Master of the Crown-Office!* Oh! "*inestimable privilege!*" What would become of our glorious Constitution, if this privilege were *infringed on!*—SIXTH, as to the mode of proceeding against you, you may be seized on the *very day* of publication by any Justice of the peace, on the oath of any one who swears that you have published a thing which *the Justice shall deem* a seditious libel. The Justice may bind you over with *sureties* till the next Quarter Sessions, not only to answer the charge, but to *keep the peace* and to be of *good behaviour* in the

mean time; and, if you cannot get bail, he may *send you to jail* till the day of trial comes on. If you be convicted, your punishment, or punishments, follow of course; if you be *acquitted*, and if you have *broken the peace*, or have been of *bad behaviour*, in the meanwhile, you may be sued *for breach of those very recognizances*, which your acquittal proves *were demanded of you without your having committed any offence at all!* Poh, poh! "God" as Judge Best says but let us put an end to this history! Come, my boys? *Let us have wheat at four shillings a bushel*; and then we will tell them a little something or two about "*the Constitution*," and about the "*inestimable privilege*!"

I must now quit Mr. SCARLETT for the *present*. I have not room left wherein to do justice to the remaining most curious points of his speech; and, as to filling a *whole* Register with him; that was out of the question. I have the stomachs of my readers to consider; and, if people "may have too much of a *good* thing," they may assuredly have too large a dish, or, rather, dose, of SCARLETT; which is a thing to be administered, not served up; and

administered, too, like jallop, a little of it mixed up with a great deal of other matter, to make it go down.

BULL-FROG FARMERS.

Faith, they are beginning to show themselves! No less than three gentlemen, each under the signature of "*A Farmer*," have sent me the "*Farmer's Journal*" of the 23d of this month. One of these gentlemen says, and very truly, that it ought to be called, the "*Landlord's Journal*;" for, by them it is chiefly supported; and the writers in it are their *agents, surveyors*, and other SCREWERS UP OF RENTS.

The paper just mentioned contains a *Letter to Lord Liverpool* from one of these disaffected Big-Farmers, who, like the *Bull-Frogs* of the American swamps, have swallowed up the small-farmers, as the Bull-Frogs do the little chirping frogs. These Bull-Frogs are as big as a *quart pot*: they make a sort of bellow, or *boo-woo*, that you can hear for miles, of a still night. They clear all before them: they gobble up or drive away all the occupiers of the swamps, except the *Barrel-snake*, which is a greater

Devil than themselves, and which swallows them.

This *Letter to Lord Liverpool* is signed, *John Ellman, jun.* and is dated at *Southover*, which is in *Sussex*, though the coxcomb of a writer does not mention the *county*, taking it for granted, that all the world knows, what county *his seat* is in. I have not time *now* to notice at any length, the contents of this letter, the pretext for the writing and the publishing of which is, that there have been inserted in the daily prints some false statements of the evidence which the writer and others have given before GAFFER GOOCH'S Committee. I have seen no statement at all of *any evidence* in the daily papers, nor in any other papers; and I want to know *what is the reason* for keeping the evidence so *snug* upon this *particular occasion*! What! Are we become so very *puddent* as to make this, too, a matter of *State-Secrecy*? If we had had the evidence before us, as it came out before the Committee, we should then have been able to play off the Artillery of the Press upon it; for, as yet, it is not a banishment-crime to comment freely on the subject of growing wheat and fattening bacon. If we had had

the evidence before us, as it was taken, other witnesses, *not selected*, might have offered themselves. And, surely, it was right, that they should have the opportunity of doing this, the matter being one in which the eaters of meat and bread were interested as well as the producers of them; a matter in which the *chirping farmers* were interested as well as the *Bull-frog farmers*. Nor should the *Labourers, Smiths, Wheelwrights*, and others have been excluded; and no decision should be come to without receiving evidence from *some of them*. What information, as to the real state of the question, is to be had from Bull-frog farmers, Land-Agents, Surveyors, and Screwers-up; or, from Iron-mongers and other shop-keepers in country towns, whose receipts depend upon the capacity of the Bull-frogs and the Landlords to expend money? These shop-keepers are *funguses* as well as the Bull-frogs. They are excrescences of the Pitt-system. They deal in fineries, which the *Chirpers* never wanted and never can want; and in things wholly beyond the Labourer's reach. Let them get brass kettles, iron-pots, pewter platters, trenchers, and such other things as the Labourers *used* to have in

their houses and chests and on their beds, in good store; and, if they have not a demand for these sufficient to keep their shops open, it will be a proof, that they ought to go to work. The earth always invites the hand of labour, and always most gratefully repays the Labourer. It is nonsense, beastly nonsense, to suppose that too much food can be raised, or that the land will be *untilled*, except upon speculations of profit. The tillers of the land must till it for a living; with that for enough to content them, with those degrees of a better and worse living which arise out of the necessary inequalities in strength, health, skill and moral disposition. To suppose, that the raising of the food, and of the raw materials for the raiment, of *all mankind* can be a sort of dashing, speculating concern is monstrous; and yet this is the notion which the Landlords and Bull-frogs would have us adopt; and, they would have us believe, that we shall all be starved, if this gambling trade be put an end to, and the tilling of the land be taken from the "*agriculturist*" and given back to the *husbandman*. Who ever heard of this word "*agriculturist*" before in this world?" A word coined by the Pitt-System, which

engendered and swelled up the Bull-frogs, till *husbandman* and *farmer* became too low for them. Faith, they will come down; and the sooner the better.

In this Letter of Mr. ELLMAN there is something very much like a *threat*, that, if a new and efficient Corn-bill be not passed, the *Yeomanry Cavalry* (mind that!) will take the other side! How this Bull-frog will come on I know not; but I know, that, if a Radical had said as much as Mr. ELLMAN said last Wednesday, he would now have been held to bail, or laid by the heels.

However, I shall notice the emptiness and impudence of this "*Agriculturist*," which ought to be spelt "*Agriculture-ass*," that being a legitimate compound word, and the other being *no word at all*, in our language, or in any other: I shall, in my next, notice a small part, at any rate, of the emptiness and impudence of this man. I may, perhaps, do it in a *Letter to himself*; and, why not? I have addressed letters to VAN!

I am very much obliged to the gentleman who sent me the "*Agriculture-ass's Journal*;" and, I am also obliged to the gentleman, who has written to me about that sapient leader of the Bull-

frogs, WEBB HALL, who has, I find, been before the Committee of Gaffer Gooch. Oh! It must be fine fun to read this man's evidence, canvassed and caught, as he must have been, by Baring and Huskisson, with heads as cool as cucumbers, and tongues as smooth as oil; first letting him, of his own accord, bring up the contents of his craw; then, though rather against his will, gently drawing him, as a neat housewife draws a turkey; then, with *his leave*, turning him inside out, and then back again, 'till you hardly know whether his covering be skin or feathers! It will be sport-royal to read this man's evidence; and, indeed, the evidence of all this tribe of Bull-frogs and Screwers-up. The fact is, the *Labouring Classes* have been benefitted by the change of prices from high to low. The *Ministry want to establish this fact*. Mr. Huskisson is one of the Committee; and, if he do not get *proof of this fact* from the mouth of the Bull-

frogs themselves, all that I can say, is, that he must want to *lose his place*, than which the Thames's running back to Oxfordshire is a thousand times more likely.

It is not the cause of the *husbandman* that these speculators in corn-growing espouse: it is the cause of the *screwers-up of rents*: it is the cause of *Landlords*: it is the cause of those *funguses* which have poisoned the fields. The *husbandman* will, and must, whether he be *master* or *labourer*, gain by the change that is coming; and, therefore, to conclude in the impressive and comprehensive words of the venerable Judge Best; "*God forbid*" that the change should be checked, until wheat come down to three shillings a bushel.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

I am deeply impressed with what is said by J. W. E. C. V. but the thing requires reflection. There can be no revival as long as Paper-Money system can go on. "A Salopian" has my best thanks.

MARKETS.

These are the things to look at now. Mark-Lane, and not Change-Alley, is the *barometer* of the concern at White-Hall. The corn keeps falling. The average of wheat is not now more than 5s. 10d. a bushel. Flour is not more than 8s. a bushel in the country; and it will soon be 9s. in London. The coarse parts of beef can be had for 3d. a pound. Bacon, by the flitch, may be had at 6½d. a pound. Such are the "*Blessings of Agricultural Distress.*" God send that *such* distress may experience no change, except that of becoming deeper and deeper!

COBBETT'S PUBLICATIONS.

The LAST VOLUME OF THE REGISTER (Vol. 38) is now complete, bound in boards, price Seven SHILLINGS. It begins with the New Year's gift to the farmers. It contains the *Sermon to the Good Methodists*; the first three

Letters to Mr. Peel; and several other papers, which may be useful at this time, when THE SYSTEM is in its agony. The Volume has a Table of Contents and an Index.—COBBETT'S MONTHLY RELIGIOUS TRACTS. The two first Numbers are out. The first, "*Nation's Vineyard; or, God's vengeance against hypocrisy and cruelty.*" The second, "*The Sin of Drunkenness in Kings, Priests and People.*" Each of these Numbers has gone through several large editions, and the work makes the "*Tract Society*" tremble for the fate of its veritable trash. Cant and rant cannot make head against plain common sense. The price of the "*Religious Tract*" is three pence. Many persons have expressed a wish that the Tract came out more frequently; but, at present, this would not be convenient to the author. He must have time for other things. While he neglects not the "*mint and cummin,*" he must attend to the "*weightier matters of the law.*" While he fails not to write his Monthly Tracts, he must not forget his Weekly Duty towards the System, especially now that Corruption herself is at her wit's end. The *Six Acts* make an exception in favour of "*Religious Publications*;" and, the author thought it hard, if he could not

get his nose, at any rate, into the privileged class.—COBBETT'S GRAMMAR, a new and neat edition, price 2s. 6d., bound in boards. It was intended for the use of young persons in general, and especially for the use of soldiers, sailors, apprentices and plough boys; but, the author has discovered, (in rather an odd manner) that it is in *great vogue* amongst "*statesmen*;" and, God knows, it was not before it was *wanted by them*!

—COBBETT'S YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA, a thick volume in Octavo. 10s. bound in boards. Very useful for those who want to know what America *really is*.——A New Edition of PAPER AGAINST GOLD, that complete history and exposure of the mystery, of the Bank, the Funds and the Paper System. Price *five shillings*, bound in boards.——IN THE PRESS, the *Preliminary Part of Paper against Gold*, containing the articles written by the author on the subject of the *Sponge*, before the date of Paper against Gold. In these articles, the *wiping off of the whole of the Debt* is maintained to be *just*, if necessary to the happiness of the nation; and, though the Landlords seem not to dare to attempt it, that does not alter the nature of the thing. The author is satisfied,

that it must be done *at last*, though the "*Lords of the Soil*" will, probably, lose the soil first.——ALSO IN THE PRESS, a thing that is a great favourite with the author: "*The AMERICAN GARDENER*; or, a treatise on the situation, soil, fencing and laying-out of Gardens; on the making and managing of hot-beds and green-houses; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Table-Vegetables, Herbs, Fruits and Flowers." The author promised this work to his good and kind neighbours in America. It was principally written in that country; and would have been finished there, had it not been for *Peel's Bill*, to witness the effects of which made him hasten away home. Thanks to Mr. PEEL, the author set off for dear Old England in November; for, if it had not been for that Bill, the author would have remained 'till spring, and then he would have lost the inexpressible pleasure of seeing Her Majesty arrive! Peel's Bill brought him away with his work in an unfinished state. It is now finished; and, though it be the "*American Gardener*," he thinks it contains matter more than worth the purchase money to an English reader, who takes delight in gardening; and, besides the

Horticultural information, the book contains the best possible account of the *climate*, and of things connected with the climate, of the country, for the use of which it is written.—In answer to enquiries about the FRENCH GRAMMAR, the author begs the public to consider a little what have been his labours since his return to England! This is a work, which he cannot suffer to go out of his hands with a single doubt in his mind as to any part of it. It would, however, have been ready for the press before this time, had it not been for the last-mentioned work, which he had *promised* to so many kind friends. All that he can say, is, that he thinks to have the French Grammar out during the summer. But, let it be borne in mind that

the main business of his life is to watch the motions of *Corruption*. He has been dogging her steps for many years. She has, now-and-then, turned upon him and given him a bite; but, now that he sees the bloody monster hemmed up in a corner, looking about her in vain for an out-let whereby to escape; when he sees her sides heave and her jaws filled with foam, he cannot quit her for long at a time. Expire she must; but, she must not expire without a last blow from him.

NOTICE.

The Stamped Register is now regularly published; and, therefore, it can be sent, through the post, to any part of the Kingdom.

Historical information, the book contains the best possible account of the climate, and of things connected with the climate, of the country, for many years. The fact, now and then, turned upon him and given him a little more than that he was the history man, but he was up in a corner, looking about him in vain for an outlet, already to escape; when he was with other people and her face filled with a glow, he could not but be long at a time. Despite the heat, but she went out again, without a last day.

NOTES.

The climate of the country is now very hot, but the heat is not so bad as it was last year. All that he can say is that he thinks to have the climate of the country, but the climate is not so bad as it was last year. He is not so sure of the climate, but he is not so sure of the climate.